3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

GRAMMAR

OF THE

TONGA LANGUAGE.

A LANGUAGE which is only spoken by a nation ignorant of every principle of grammatical construction, and possessing not the least knowledge, nor the most remote idea, either in theory or practice, of the art of writing, cannot be supposed to be richly endowed with variety of words, choice of expression, or clear and accurate definitions, except of those ideas which are in common use. The rules by which it is spoken, and which can have no other security or foundation but in the constant habit of those who speak it, are nevertheless sufficiently well established; and if we could but readily and for a time emancipate our minds from a sense of the nicer grammatical distinctions in our own languages, it is presumed that the Tonga dialect, and perhaps others of the same class, would be found very simple and easy to be attained; but as it is, the wide differences of our own habits of speech will give it the appearance of a language replete with idioms, and abounding in circumlocutions.

The orthography of this language, from Mr. Mariner's pronunciation, I have settled according to the following rules: first, in respect to the vowels,

A is always pronounced as in the English words, *tar*, *car*, *papa*; or in the French article *la*, except when two consonants follow, when its sound is much less open, approaching very near to the *a*, in *man*, *can*, *began*.

E, like the English *a*, in *ray*, *say*, *day*, or the French accented *é* in *accablé ordonné*; except where a double consonant follows, or *tch*, then it is sounded as in *men*, *ten*, *den*. .

I, like the English *e*, in *see*, *we*, *be*, or *i*, as it is pronounced in most European languages: except before a double consonant, in which case it is pronounced as in *ink*, *sing*.

O, as the long English *o*, in *mole*, *roll*, *dole*; but short before a double consonant.

U, like the sound of the English word *you*, or *ew* in *few*, except before a double consonant, then it is short, as in *luck*, *tuck*, *suck*.

Y, like the English *i*, in *sigh*, *die*, *white*; or the German *ei*, in *mein*, *sein*;

[p.345]

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

but somewhat more short and sudden, perhaps rather like the English *y* in *ally, apply:* the same sound, when long, is expressed by the following diphthong:

AI, like the long English *i*, in *dine, mine, whine.* It is a true diphthong, generated from the coalition of *a* and *i*, as above defined: the first being heavy, the second light.

AO: this is a sound distinctly of two syllables, the *a* and the *o* being pronounced as defined in their respective places.

AOO: this is a word of two syllables, the *a* and the *oo* being pronounced as defined in their places.

AU: this is a word of one syllable, pronounced like *ow* (which see below), but somewhat longer, and yet in such a way as not to run into two syllables like *aoo* (which see above). Thus these four sounds, viz. *ao, aoo, au,* and *ou,* are very nearly similar, except to a good ear; and yet it is necessary they should thus be distinguished; for three of them are words of very different meanings, *aoo,* a cloud; *au,* the personal pronoun *I,* and *ou,* the possessive pronoun, *thy.* The same may be said of *fao,* a peg; *faoo,* load; and *fou,* a turban: also *tao,* a spear; *taoo,* to cook victuals under ground; and *tow,* war.

OW, as in *low, sow, pow.*[A]

OW, as in *how, allow, now.* When the *w* is preceded by *a* or *o*, it must be joined in sound with it, not with any vowel or aspirate that may follow; as, *fawha* is to be pronounced *faw-ha,* not *faw-wha;* for in point of fact, the *w* is not in such instances a separate letter, it only serves to give a peculiar sound, as above defined, to the *a* or the *o*. *Uw* is to be pronounced short, else it will run into the sound of *au,* which see above.

OY, as in the English words, *toy, coy,* &c.

OO, like the Italian or Spanish *u*, or like *oo* in *tool, cool,* &c., unless one o them be marked thus, *ö*, in which case they are pronounced distinctly: when *oo* is accented, the accent is uniformly upon the latter, thus, *oó:* when three *o*'s come together, the two which are not marked thus, *ö*, constitute the diphthong; or if the first of the three is accented thus, *óoo,* the two latter are the diphthong.

As to the consonants, the following only need be particularly mentioned.

B is sounded between the *b* and *p*, but it has more the sound of the *b*.

C, before *a* and *o*, is hard, and partakes in like manner of a little of the sound of the hard *g*. It never occurs before *e* and *i*. To express the sound of the soft *c*, the letter *s* is always used.

D: the sound of this letter is scarcely known in the Tonga language: there is indeed a sound approaching to it, but it is only the careless conversational way of pronouncing the *t*.

G: this letter is always hard, as in *game, gill* (of a fish), *begin,* &c. Wherever the sound of the English soft *g* occurs, *j* is always used to express it.

J. This letter has not, however, *exactly* the sound of the English *j*; but between *j* and *z*, so that if the *j* in our English word *jest* were thus pronounced, it would sound between *jest* and *zest,* and not very much unlike *chest.*

CH, is always sounded as in the English words *choose, change, chair,* &c.

[p. 346]

A [Errata: this should read "AW, as in law." Cf. errata sheet, p. 492, category 116--Analyst]

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

THE TONGA LANGUAGE.

ER: the *r* is never pronounced strongly: when it follows *e* it is scarcely sounded, giving merely a power to the *e* similar to what it has in the French words, *le, me, te.*

NG, as in the words *among, song, wrong*: but this sound is not to be intimately joined with the following vowel: for instance, *Tonga* is not to be pronounced *Tóng-ga*, as the English reader is apt to do, but thus, *Tong-a.*

GN: here the *g* is not sounded strongly, but somewhat more so than in the word *gnomon.*

Upon the subject of accentuation, I must observe, as a general rule (to avoid the too frequent and unnecessary use of typographical accents) that in words of two syllables the emphasis is to be laid on the first; in words of three syllables, it is to be placed on the middle one; and in words of four syllables, on the first and third. In all exceptions to this rule, and in some of those instances where vowels themselves form syllables, typographical accents will be placed accordingly. It is to be noticed that in words of three syllables, when the first only is accented, that the two others are light ones; and that the accent is always put upon the vowel of the emphatic syllable.

The Tonga language may be divided, like most others, into eight or nine parts of speech, and if nicer distinctions could aid in rendering the subject more clear, two or three might be added: but we apprehend that the usual number will be found quite as many as will suffice for our purpose; and as these are not always properly defined, the noun, adjective, verb, and participle, being often one and the same word, distinguished only by the general sense of the phrase, and sometimes scarcely by that, we might be disposed to lessen rather than to increase the quantity. In respect to those parts of speech which might be superadded, they consist of a peculiar particle used before the article, noun, adjective, and pronoun, according to certain rules, signs of the plural number, signs of the tenses of verbs, and two or three others, whose uses cannot be explained in a few words: of these we shall treat under the different parts of speech to which they are generally attached, or to which they seem most referable.

The following, then, are nine divisions of speech, which we shall adopt in the present investigation, and of which we shall discourse in this order:

Article, Noun, Adjective, Pronoun, Verb, Adverb, Conjunction, Preposition, Interjection.

THE ARTICLE.

We find in this language a very frequent use of these three particles, viz. *he, co*, and *coe*: on a strict investigation, however, we find that only the first, *he*, can properly be called an Article, being chiefly used before nouns, and is sometimes used to distinguish them from verbs, though it is occasionally used before what in our language would be called the participle of the present tense, by which it is converted into a sort of noun: whereas the particle *co* is used not only before nouns, but also proper names, to mark certain significations more distinctly; besides which, it is frequently prefixed to

[A 347]

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

as, *to he egi co Ooloo Valoo*, i. e. a certain chief called Ooloo Valoo; *co he* [193]
tangata co Boboto, a certain man named Boboto*.

We have intimated just now that the particle *co* is not always used before the words *egi* and *tangata*, and we shall now point out when it is not to be used. If the above phrase, *the chief Ooloo Valoo*, or *the man Boboto*, were to occur in the latter part of a sentence, the particle *co* would be left out before *egi* or *tangata*, but the article *he* would remain: as, *nai how giate au he tangata co Paloo*, there came to me the man Paloo: but if the arrangement of the sentence be altered, thus, the man Paloo came to me, then both the article and particle may be prefixed to *tangata*, as before: as, *co he tanguta co Paloo nai how giate au*. These two examples, however, intimate that the man Paloo is *unknown* to the party addressed; but if the contrary were the case, the last form of the sentence only could be used, and the article *he* must be left out: as, *co tangata co Paloo nai how giate au*, the man Paloo came to me; but *nai how giate au co tangata co Paloo* would not be grammatically expressed for any sense.

In consequence of the frequent use of *co* before *he*, the two, in the rapidity of speech, are coalesced into one, the aspirate being omitted; thus, [194]
coe instead of *co he*, as *coe tangata co Boboto*. We have hitherto expressed them separately for the sake of clearness, but shall henceforth write *coe*, according to the strictest pronunciation; for *co he tangata* would not sound very well in the ears of a Tonga chief who took pains to pronounce his language correctly.

THE NOUN.

The noun has, properly speaking, neither gender nor number: i. e. the gender is distinguished neither by any peculiarity in the word, nor by any sign; and the number is only distinguished sometimes by a sign, or by some other word of singular or plural signification: but the use of this prefixed sign or word will depend upon whether the noun be significant of an animate or inanimate nature: if of an animate nature, it will depend upon whether it be a rational or irrational nature.

The singular number of inanimate beings is usually expressed by the simple noun, with the article *he* before it: as, *he togi*, an axe; *he falle*, a house. When it is intended to lay a particular stress upon the circumstance of there being only one, the numeral is used with the word *be* (only), and the article is left out: as *togi he taha*, axe only one; *falle be taha*, house only one. When a certain and fixed number of inanimate objects are meant to [194]
be expressed, the numeral is used according to the following form; *togi e oua*, axes two; *falle e toloo*, houses three; *vaca e fa*, canoes four: wherein it is seen that the particle *e* comes between the noun and the numeral, and

* I do not mean, however, to lay down this rule as a fixed and certain one. To Mr. Mariner's perceptions of the language, it appears in general correct; but he thinks they sometimes violate it through inadvertence, and, I may add, sometimes perhaps for the sake of euphony.

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

193 which in all probability is the article, with the aspirate omitted, and placed in this situation for the sake of euphony. When speaking of an indefinite [194] number of inanimate things, the word *lahi* (many or several), is used before the noun, the article intervening, with its aspirate dropped, as, *lahi e togi*, many the axes; *lahi e vaca*, many the canoes.

This sign of the plural, however, is not always used; as, for instance, whose axes are these? *coe togi ahai co-eni*, i. e. the axes whose these? Here there is nothing of a plural signification, for *cöe'ni* means *this* as well as *these*, and only the general sense or the visible objects can determine it: or it would be better perhaps to express the rule thus: the singular number is often used for the plural, when it is sufficiently evident that the plural must be meant though not expressed, as in the foregoing example.

In respect to animate beings, the singular is formed in the same way as exemplified in regard to inanimate: as, *he boaaca*, a hog; *he goali*, a dog; *he tangata*, a man; and if a particular stress is laid upon there being only one, the same form as with inanimate natures is used, provided it be an *irrational* living being, as, *boaaca be taha*, hog only one; *goali be taha*, dog only one; and such might be the answer to the question, how many hogs, (dogs, &c.) are there? but if the word *boaaca*, (*goali*, &c.) be not repeated in the answer, then *taha* must come before *be*, as, *taha be*, one only. But if the living object spoken of be a *rational* being, as, only one god, one man, one chief, &c. then the word *toca* (for which no particular meaning, in this case, can well be given, unless we translate it person or rational individual) must be used before *taha*, as, *tangata be toca taha*, man only person one; and if in answer to such a question, as, how many men were there? the word *tangata* be not repeated in the answer, it must be constructed thus: *toca taha be*, person one only; *toca* coming first, and *be* last.

In respect to this word *toca*, another observation must be made, viz. that it is never used unless with a numeral, or some word expressive of number; as, *lahi*, many; *chi*, few.

The plural number of animate *irrational* beings is sometimes formed exactly in the same way as exemplified when speaking of inanimate beings; as in the following instances: if a certain, definite number be expressed, thus, *boaaca e oou*, hogs two; *goali e tolou*, dogs three: if an indefinite number be expressed, thus, *lahi e boaaca*, many hogs; *lahi e goali*, many dogs: but if, in similar instances, *rational* beings were to be spoken of, then *toca* must be used, and the article *e* left out, according to this form, *tangata toca oou*, two men; *fafine toca tolou*, three women: but if the number of rational beings be indefinite, the mode of expression will be the same as with the irrational beings, with this only difference, that *toca* will come before *lahi*, as *toca lahi e tangata*, many men; *toca lahi e hotoou*, many gods.

There are two other modes of expressing the plural number of nouns of animate natures, and these are by the words *cow** and *tounga*, which appear to be collective nouns, and to have the signification of company, body,

---

* The particle *cow* is sometimes used to inanimate substances, as, *cow aga*, cordage; *cow cofi*, yams: but these are particular phrases.

[p. 350]

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

pioneer missionary and explorer, who did much to make known many islands of the Pacific. In the present compilation the collection of "Idiomatical Phrases" in the Tongan Vocabulary of the late Dr. Shirley Baker[1] has been included, as well as many expressions scattered throughout the body of that work. Valuable as Dr. Baker's work is, it is unfortunate that he has printed whole phrases as single words, and without literal translations or explanations. In almost every instance we have been able to separate into their component words and explain these expressions, but there is a small residuum that has not been elucidated by inquiries made among the Tongans of today. Baker's work has been in constant use, and we desire to acknowledge our general indebtedness to it. In the few instances where we have not been able to explain phrases published by him exact quotations have been made.

ORTHOGRAPHY

In orthography we have followed what seemed to be the easiest method for European readers. The nasalized *g*, written as *ŋ* in the various Pacific dialects, we have written as *ng*. The pronunciation of course is like that of *ng* in the English word singer, and not like that in finger.

In Tonga itself animated discussion ranges around the letters *b* and *p*, two symbols which have had an unfortunate history. The Methodist missionaries, who first regularly reduced the language to writing, used only *b*. The French Marists, who followed a few years later, wrote *p*. Subsequently an effort was made by Dr. Baker to combine the two. It is indubitable that there are sounds which strike the ear as an English *b*, and others as an English *p*, and yet others which it is extremely difficult for the ear to distinguish certainly as the one or the other. But the attempt to combine the two symbols has only introduced fresh confusion, as the language does not seem to contain two systematized series of sounds, the one *b* and the other *p*. The Tongan ear finds the greatest difficulty in distinguishing an English *b* from an English *p*.

[1] Baker, Rev. Shirley W., An English and Tongan vocabulary, also a Tongan and English vocabulary. Auckland, N. Z., 1897.

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

and does not successfully separate the two sounds until considerable proficiency in English has been attained. An Englishman may pronounce Tongan words with either *b* or *p* without the Tongan noticing the difference, nor does the native pronunciation itself seem to be consistent. In fact the dispute between the two symbols is without meaning for the Tongans except in so far as ecclesiastical considerations affect his preference.

In the present work we have written *p* throughout, to be in agreement with the universal practice in writing other Polynesian languages, feeling that to use *b* would be to over-emphasize a probably non-existent difference between Tongan and kindred dialects.

Another vexed question is involved in the use of *s* and *j*. Speaking broadly, and subject to exceptions, the *s* found, for example, in Samoan, has become *h* in Tongan. There is, however, in modern Tongan a large series of words in which the syllable *si* occurs. As pronounced today this syllable should unquestionably be written with an *s*; but this pronunciation is obviously modern, and in books written about a century ago we find, not *si*, but *tchi* or *chi*. When the language was first reduced to writing this *tch* sound before *i* (compare Samoan *ti*) was written as *j*, and we have retained this symbol. It is interesting to note that although the passage of *tchi* into *si* has been almost completed, one may hear even today, but very rarely, the old pronunciation.

The glottal stop so frequent in Tongan has not been written. Essential as it is that the philologist should take account of it, it has not seemed to call for the emphasis of a separate symbol in writing material which is not intended for philological purposes. It may be remarked in passing that in Polynesian philology too little attention seems to have been paid to this stop. The Tongan ear detects its presence or absence with the same ease and certainty as that with which the English ear detects the difference between *b* and *p*, but the European frequently experiences as great difficulty in separating the stopped from the unstopped vowel as the Tongan does in differentiating between *b* and *p*.

Tongan orthography is in a state of deplorable confusion, but no other matters seem to call for special notice here. Of the remaining divergencies the most notable is that which exists in the

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

539 726 701 824 [137] cut down another grows up. In either case the reference is to the same thing, the labors and struggles of one mighty man who has fallen are taken up by another. This proverb appears in a couplet, "*Ta e tea tuu e toa, Iloga he vale bea hola.*" "A champion has fallen, a champion stands, let him who is unskilled flee."

569. Tala pea taki mai ha tau: Tell and bring an army.

539 571 Like number 536 a derisive retort to one who threatens to report one's conduct. Tell and bring an army to back up your censure. What difference is it going to make if you do tell so-and-so? Is there going to be an army sent to punish me? The same idea is expressed also by *Tala pea e fai ha tau:* Tell, and is there going to be a war?

539 721 571 183 **570. Tata langovaka:** Striking compensation, that is, fighting again to compensate for a previous defeat.

One will use his utmost endeavors to make good the earlier defeat. Used generally of putting forth one's full effort so as to compensate for a previous failure.

539 725 183 **571. Tau kovi pea kovi hono toi:** Bad fighting and bad hiding.

A skillful leader may make good the deficiency in numbers of his troops by a wise use of cover. This indicates a state of things that was bad enough in the beginning and was not remedied by judicious management.

539 726 194 **572. Tofi-kulu:** Head splitting; a knock-out blow.

Used of a final, decisive stroke, an unanswerable argument. The word *kulu*, head, is interesting as showing the initial *k* which has been replaced in the ordinary form of the word by the glottal stop.

539 726 461 183 **573. Tulituli ta:** Chasing up (the) stroke.

An expression from warfare, indicating one who is pursuing a fleeing foe and is just about within striking distance. Applied to one who is putting forth all his effort to accomplish something which he is on the point of bringing off.

539 726 276 554 **574. Vava faka-Vaipoa:** Rejoicing Vaipoa-like.

Vaipoa is a village in Vavau. The phrase is applied to joyful expectations that are not realized. The expression is said to have originated with a great warrior named Mahina who lived in Vaipoa. It was customary to hold a kava ceremony on the eve of battle, and during the ceremony the braves would boast, or pledge themselves to valiant action. It was not unusual for a warrior to boast that he would kill the first foe that should be slain. This of course pledged him to rush foremost into the thick of the battle. Occasionally the chief of the army would give to the champion who pledged himself to such an undertaking the most important cup of kava, in this case the first, the chief's own. On one occasion Mahina with his fellows of Vaipoa was on a warlike expedition and at the kava preceding the battle Mahina pledged himself to slay the first of the enemy

20: Gifford E-5 (1920-1921) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

American town. The police, perhaps, have a busier time restraining playful young Tonga in the front rows.

Typewriters are coming into use. The writer encountered one enterprising Tongan who took dictation in Tongan direct on his typewriter. The same man was a good photographer.

Writing, introduced by the missionaries, has done much to preserve Tongan mythology and genealogy. As early as 1844 the Tamaha, the highest and most sacred Tongan dignitary, the sororal niece of the Tui Tonga, set down in writing some of the ancient lore. Many others have followed her example. If writing and reading have been the means of preserving much old Tongan material, so too, have they been the introducers of many foreign ideas. To-day one can collect Tongan versions of Cinderella and Dick Whittington's cat. Moreover, many a Tongan's clear conception of the affairs of his nation in the first decade and a half of the 19th century is due to his reading Mariner's "Tongan Islands" translated into Tongan.

Although no accurate data are at hand, it is nevertheless the writer's impression that the great majority of Tongans are literate. Tongan orthography has offered a peg upon which to hang a controversy with a religious background. The Catholics use the symbol "p" to represent the sound in Tongan which is really intermediate between "b" and "p." It is a sound quite similar to French "p." Inasmuch as the early Catholic missionaries were French, they naturally represented the intermediate Tongan sound with "p." The Protestants, however, used both "b" and "p." or again "b" alone. The latter course is preferable, because after all but a single sound is being dealt with. Being intermediate this sound sometimes strikes an English ear as "b," sometimes as "p." As a result of this rivalry of "b" and "p," an actual phonetic difference has arisen through the teaching of the mission schools. A single sound has now evolved into two sounds. Which is used depends upon the church affiliations of the speaker. A somewhat similar case is to be found in "s" and "j," the former now having almost completely replaced the latter in everyday conversation. Although "s" is sponsored by the Catholics it has come into general use and the "j" of the Protestants is fast sinking into oblivion.

23: Collocott M-4,5 (no date) 1925 OU9 Tonga OU9

a sound which it is sometimes difficult to distinguish as voiced or unvoiced. The practical difficulty of deciding whether it was to be *b* or *p* remained unsolved in the few meetings that were held. I have written *b*, not as an expression of my opinion that it is the better symbol to employ, but because it is used in by far the most important part of existing Tongan literature. As a matter of personal preference I have come to think that if a fresh start could be made *p* would be the better symbol.

The English Methodists wrote *j*, and the French Catholics *s* to indicate a sound which Mariner writes *ch*. This sound is always followed by *i*, and corresponds to the Samoan *ti;* but the pronunciation *ch*, which I have heard from an elderly Tongan, has practically disappeared, and in present-day Tongan the sound is hardly, if at all, distinguishable from English *s*. There are also words in which *s* is not followed by *i*, some of which may be genuine Tongan words, whilst others may have come later into the language, probably from Samoa and Fiji. I have in this list provisionally written *s* throughout, although the 1918 committee decided to use *j* before *i*, and there was even, if I remember rightly, a proposal to try to revive the old pronunciation *ch*. Such an attempt to arrest the progress of phonetic change would probably prove abortive. Should the dictionary-maker decide to employ *j* to represent the old pronunciation *ch* examination of Samoan cognates will generally settle the question of *s* or *j*. All occurrences of *s* not followed by *i* will be examined bearing in mind the possibility of their having come late, or very late, into the language, though it must be noted that Mariner uses *s* in a few words; but this, of course, does not rule out the possibility of borrowing.

The stop (ʻ), which is too often neglected in writing Tongan, I have endeavoured to put in. One feels, however, the disadvantage of absence from the country in dealing with a matter which requires such delicate discrimination, and quite probably I have committed errors both of omission and inclusion. Indeed, the whole paper abounds with indications of my ignorance, and other workers will, doubtless, find many inadequacies.

To the list of words I have added a note on measuring and counting, which, although not wide enough to include

50: Pulu I-5 (no date) 1973 OU9 Tonga OU9

ALTERNATIVE MEANINGS FOR TONGAN PLACE NAMES

There is little doubt that Mr Gifford's Tongan "scholars" did their best, but the two Tongan men he relied on were chiefs, and chiefs were seldom trusted with chronicles which were often associated with place names. This knowledge was trusted to spokesmen, and theirs was the task of knowing place names which perserved for posterity the unwritten historical events that had transpired at those places. The European Tongan scholars, too, could not have been sufficiently versed in Tongan oral traditions and histories to be able to go beyond a mere literal translation of the meanings of many place names.

The stories given later on in this paper will help to illustrate how important it is to know oral traditions if one is to give correct meanings to place names. These stories were well known to the old people of Ha'apai islands but now are known to only a few. I learned of these stories at the many informal gatherings at my father's house where I was frequently called to serve kava. I treasured this delightful task as I could sit inconspicuously behind the kava mixer and listen to the older people tell tales of former days. And so later, when I saw Gifford's book and the erroneous meanings he had given to these places, I was shocked and grieved, for the present trend in Tonga is to accept anything in black and white as the absolute truth. Gifford's written words will be the accepted authority in the meanings of Tongan place names, and the true non-recorded meanings of some of these place names will pass on to forgotten history with the death of their tellers.

Going hand in hand with Gifford's lack of knowledge of historical events and the deficiencies of the orthography[2] that he used, are the complicating factors of the dynamics of language change at work. This gives some names a different pronunciation from the original, and thus makes a difference in their meaning unless one knows what they originally referred to.

Let us look at how this factor of language change has modified the following two words: /'auhangamea/ and /te'ekiu/ which Gifford listed as:

1. "Auhangamea. Panting to destroy things (auha, destroyed; nga, to pant; mea, things; perhaps referring to the heaving of the billows from the open ocean.) Strait between Tatafu and Uoleva island (H)."[3]
2. "Teekiu. Plover excrement (tee, excrement; kiu, plover Haradrius fulvus). Village on Tongatapu island (T). Also a track on Nomuka island (H). Also a tract near Hihifo, village on Foa island (H)."[4]

A correction to Gifford's spelling of Auhangamea to get its present pronunciation must be made with the addition of the glottal stop before the initial vowel. Gifford listed this word as having three morphemes: (auha + nga + mea) with their respective meanings as listed above. The original pronunciation of this word was /'auha + 'anga + me'a/ containing the morphemes /'auha/ "to suffer destruction" /'anga/ nominalising suffix, and /me'a/ "thing;" this was reduced to /'auhangamea/ by deletion of /'a/ from /'anga/ to form /nga/, and the elimination of /'/ from /me'a/ to form /mea/. The meaning thus formed from this compound word is "the place where things are destroyed, or lost."

This name was not given to the strait because of "the heaving of the billows" as suggested by Gifford, nor was it given to commemorate a "trivial event," but to record orally an important event long forgotten by most except the few story tellers who still remember the legend of Sisimata'ila'aa whose carelessness caused the bag of curses to be opened while the boat of the Tu'i Tonga was crossing it.

2. In the orthography used by Gifford, there is representation of neither the glottal stop nor the vowel length, both of which are phonemes of high frequency.
3. Gifford 1923:42.
4. Ibid.:218.

TUPOU L. PULU

This caused the loss of lives and every possession, including the boat. Only one person escaped to tell of the fate that had befallen them.

The present pronunciation of number 2 above is /te'ekiu/. We have, again, added the glottal stop which Gifford left out. This is listed by Gifford as having two morphemes: /te'e + kiu/ "excrement + plover." Actually, this originally consisted of two morphemes, too, but cut this way: /te'eki + uu/.[5] The first morpheme, /te'eki/ means "not yet," and /uu/ means "sheltered." This was the way it was meant to be, for it originated with the warriors of Vaha'i when they were digging trenches to hide in during the civil war with Hahake district of Tongatapu during the closing years of the eighteenth century. The commander used to call out to the men, /kuo uu/ "are you sheltered," and the answer kept coming back, /te'eki uu/ "not sheltered yet."

There is a way to find a solution to Gifford's remark that sometimes "a name is open to more than one interpretation." This involves the reviewing of oral traditions as presented and preserved in legends, myths, tales, and poems set to music for dancing. It would seem only logical that one would be forced to retain the interpretation of a name which is well supported by evidence from oral traditions and reject that which seems to have been forced, and really has no leg to stand on.

With this in mind, let us look at some of the following names and their meanings, first, as listed by Gifford, and second, by reviewing their histories.

The following names were associated with the birth of Taufa'ahau, Tonga's well-known King George Tupou I, originally known as Ngiringini Ofo-langa:[6]

Luahoko. "Sunken reef next another (lua, sunken reef; hoko, next, nearest in place)."[7]

Luangahu. "Reef of the ngahu tree (lua, sunken reef; ngahu, a tree)."[8]

Niuui. "A kind of coconut (niu, coconut; ui, the name of a one kind of coconut)."[9]

Ofolanga. "Erected wonder (ofo, wonder, marvel; langa, to erect)."[10]

The following story is the historical background for the above names as connected with their location at Ha'apai.

Tupouto'a of Ha'apai heard that Houma Fale Ono, the daughter of the chief of Houma in Tongatapu, had been sent by her father to reside with Lavaka at Kahoua.[11] She had been acting strangely and wanted to drink human blood. Tupouto'a, however, knew that she was not possessed by evil spirits as her relatives had assumed, but was simply suffering from morning sickness, for he had been living with her during the last few months when he was in Tongatapu. So he came over to Kahoua and stole her away.

They spent the next few months cruising around the islands of Ha'apai. It is said that when they landed on the beach of one of the many little islands off the shore of Lifuka, Houma Fale Ono vomited violently because of the smell of the

5. The /u/ was long and it is written here as a double vowel.
6. Uate Mahe of Hihifo told the story of how Taufa'ahau received that name from the priest of Ha'elefeke. Apparently, the priest gave him that name after he cured him from drowning in the whale oil of the ill-fated "Port Au Prince" which the people of Ha'apai massacred. The priest took on the name of Taufa Tahi.
7. Gifford 1923:142.
8. Ibid.:143.
9. Ibid.:177.
10. Ibid.:183.
11. This place name is not listed by Gifford even though it is currently in use. It means "two reeds" and it refers to the double fence around Lavaka's residence which was made of this variety of bamboo.

ALTERNATIVE MEANINGS FOR TONGAN PLACE NAMES

ngahu plants that grew profusely there. They went on to the next island, and again she got sick. They went to a third island, and she liked it there so there they stayed until one night she woke up with stabbing pains in her back. Tupouto'a knew that she was in labour so they hurried and set sail for Lifuka. Before landing at Pangai, however, they decided to turn around and head for 'Uiha to Malupo's place so the child could be born there. As they passed Hihifo, Houma Fale Ono begged them to put to shore because she was going to give birth very soon.

They landed on the beach just as she gave birth to a baby boy. The men called about for a ripe coconut to feed the baby.[12] Finally, an old man, who was bailing out the double canoe, called back that he had a nut from the last island they were on. This was brought and opened. They found that it was a nginingini "a dried shrivelled nut," for all the water was gone. The meat was still good, and they fed the baby with it. After this, they took the afterbirth and buried it further inland, marking the place with an ovava tree.[13] Then they sailed on to 'Uiha.

When they arrived at 'Uiha, a kava party was held and they told of their travels and the birth of the child. The first island on which they landed and where Houma Fale Ono vomitted from the smell of the ngahu plants was called /lua + ngahu/ "vomit ngahu." The next island was named /lua + hoko/ "vomit next" because that was where she threw up next. The third island that she liked, and where she woke up from her sleep with pain in her back, was called /ofo + langa/ "awake startled from sleep + pain." The beach on which the baby boy was delivered was called /niu ui/ "coconut call" because the men called around for a coconut to feed the baby. The child was named Nginingini Ofolanga, meaning "the shrivelled dried coconut from Ofolanga."

Two more names associated with the war between Laufilitonga, the last Tu'i Tonga, and Taufa'ahau which took place on Lifuka island at Ha'apai[14] were given wrong meanings. They are:

Tauakipulu. "To build two canoes at the same time for caulking with pulu gum (taua, to build two canoes at the same time; ki, for; pulu, a kind of gum, used as pitch for caulking canoes."[15]

Velata. "To burn and to strike (vela, to burn; ta, to strike)."[16]

Gifford's Tauakipulu's correct spelling and pronunciation is /tau'akipulu/. It came from the terrifying yells of Laufili'tonga's fleeing warriors, /ko e pulu 'oku nau tau'aki/ "they are using gun powder in the fight." This sentence had been transformed into /tau'aki'a e pulu/ "fighting with gunpowder," or "using gunpowder for the fight," and /'a e/ got deleted resulting in the present form, /tau'akipulu/ the name given to the King's residence in Ha'apai to commemorate Taufa'ahau's victory over Laufilitonga's warriors.

Velata had also originated in a similar fashion to Tau'akipulu. It is the result of transformations of the original sentence /Ko e taa na'e vevela/" the strike that inflicted pain," referring figuratively to the great mental suffering of Laufilitonga when his wife Lupe Pau'u eloped with Taufa'ahau. This original sentence was transformed to /Na'e vevela 'a e taa/. Then the past tense marker /na'e/ was

12. Before the baby is breast fed by the mother, he is given a *namoa*. This consists of ripe coconut meat which is chewed and wrapped in a piece of unpainted tapa cloth. Then this is placed in the baby's mouth so he can suck it. The coconut cream acts as a mild laxative and it cleans out the baby's *te'evao* "bush excrement" which is the term applied to the baby's first passing of stool.
13. Most people in Ha'apai believe that the ovava tree in front of the hospital at Niu'ui on Lifuka is this same ovava tree referred to in this story.
14. Gifford. 1923:213–14.
15. /*tau'akipulu*/. Gifford 1923:216. The three morphemes in this compound word are /*tau*/ "fight or war" /'aki/ instrumental suffix, and /*pulu*/ "gunpowder."
16. Gifford 1923:257.

50: Pulu I-5 (no date) 1973 OU9 Tonga OU9

deleted leaving /vevela /'a e taa/. Somehow the /ve/ which looks like only a reduplication of the $C_1 V_1$ in /vela/ "burn" but has the connotation of referring to "pain" and "hurt" rather than to a diminutive form with the same meaning of "to burn" got deleted and only /vela/ "burn" was left. Deletion of /'a e/ left behind /velataa/. Long /a/ was lost and only /velata/ remained to cause Gifford to arrive at a very literal English translation of "to burn and to strike".

One can see from the above examples that onomastics greatly contributes to a better understanding and a more accurate translation of place names for, after all, they are nothing more than mnemonics of significant events dealing with religious activities, marriage contracts, wars of both local and foreign nature, births, deaths, travels to foreign lands, local migrations due to natural hazards or tribal disputes, festivities, and even genealogies.

Sometimes place names do give meanings that sound like "descriptions of physical features" of particular localities, but often these are not exhibited physically by those places. They are mere symbolisms of inner feelings, a direct result of the Tongan's urge to express his thoughts of appreciation for the aesthetic values of plants, animals, land, sea and sky which are closely associated with his sense of identity.

The Tongan place names have certainly become great and effective instruments in motivating people to action. They have great value in inculcating a deep sense of group solidarity which permeates the very being of every Tongan regardless of his knowledge of their meanings which are now slowly being buried with the inevitable passing of the older and more knowledgeable generation.

REFERENCES

GIFFORD, Edward Winslow, 1923. *Tongan Place Names.* Honolulu, Bernice P. Bishop Museum.

——— 1929. *Tongan Society.* Honolulu, Bernice P. Bishop Museum.

KAHO, Fe'iloakitau. 1946. *Ko e Kumi 'o e Tu'i 'e he Kau Ha'apai. 'The Search for the Royalty Conducted by People of Ha'apai.'* Pangai, Tonga.

175 [477 cont.]
181 to satisfy the most indispensible wants of nature, could make
642 them miserable. Be this as it may, so much seems to be certain,
651 that their systems of politics and religion, from their similarity
175 with the Taheitian, as far as we could judge, must have had one
171 common origin, perhaps in the mother country, from whence both
174 these colonies issued. Single dissonant customs, and opinions
may have acceded to the primitive ideas, in proportion as various
175 accidents, or human caprices have given rise to them. The
174 affinity of their languages is still more decisive. The greatest
197 part of the necessaries of life, common to both groups of islands,
the parts of the body, in short the most obvious and universal
ideas, were expressed at the Society and Friendly Isles nearly
175 by the same words. [478] We did not find that sonorousness in the
197 Tonga-Tabboo dialect, which is prevalent in that of Taheitee,
194 because the inhabitants of the former have adopted the F,K, and S,
so that their language is more replete with consonants. This
harshness is compensated however by the frequent use of the liquid
letters, L,M,N; and of the softer vowels E and I, to which we
must add that kind of singing tone, which they generally retain
even in common conversation.---But it is time to return from this
digression.

175 We did not part from our friends till sun-set, promising to
123 return to them once more the next morning. Our ships were well
122
175 provided with bananas, yams, and coco-nuts; and, considering the
small size of the island, as well as our short stay, sixty or eighty
hogs, besides a vast number of large fowls, were a surprising
[312] acquisition. During our stay we had searched the country in vain

/11 cont./

131 Archipelago comprises 159 predominantly small islands scattered between approximately 15 degrees and 23 degrees latitude south and 173 degrees and 176 degrees longitude west. The entire land area amounts to approximately 696 square kilometers. (1)

[113] [114]

1. = 268.9 square miles, according to the list in A. H. Wood, A History and Geography of Tonga /cited in English/, Auckland, 1945, p. 109; as yet, completely reliable information does not seem to exist; however, the area of 997 square kilometers quoted by W. Geisler (Allgemeine Landerkunde von Australien und Ozeanien /General geography of Australia and Oceania/, Hannover 1931. p. 21) is probably too high.

The largest of the 36 inhabited Tonga Islands are Tongatapu (2)

[194] [656]

2. The new spelling in Tonga, determined by government ordinance, definitively uses p for the sound midway between p and b; the spoken sound ng is now also written out (Formerly it was simply g). "Tonga Government Gazette" /cited in English/, March 31, 1943).

with approximately 256 square kilometers and Vava'u with approximately 89 square kilometers. (3)

3. Wood, loc. cit. p. 96, 99.2 square miles for Tongatapu; p. 104, 34.6 square miles for 'Uta Vava'u.

133 The inhabited islands of the Archipelago, which is partly of volcanic, partly of coral origin, and extends mainly in a north-northeast, south-southwest direction, are mostly coral limestone formations and were formed through the elevation of atolls or barrier

10 504 73 reefs. Geographically and administratively they are divided into the three main groups of Tongatapu (in the south) with the "capital city" of Nuku'alofa, Ha'apai (in the center) with the main harbor Pangai on Lifuka, and Vava'u (in the north) with the main harbor of Neiafu; far to the north lie Niua Fo'ou (evacuated in December 1946 because of a

/91 cont./

551 Sione (John), many are also called Tevita (David), while others are
553 called Peni (Ben [jamin]), Paula (paul), Mosese (Moses), Taniela
177 (Daniel), Sosiua (Joshua), Aisake (isaac) or Samisoni (Samson). Many Tongan women are called Meliame (Miriam), Lute (Ruth), Mele (Maria; also an ancient Tongan name /meaning/: mistake, disfigurement) or Ana (Anna). Since the Tongan learned these names from British missionaries, their form may be explained as a transmutation from /92/ English into the Tongan language which is poor in phonemes (in which, moreover, syllables always end in vowels). Other common names of English or German origin are: Siaosi (George), Viliami (William), Alipate (Albert), Feleti (Fred), Oto (Otto), Hamani (Herman), Kusitafu (Gustave) and Vika (Victoria). Objects manifestly of European importance likewise served in name-giving; for example, Pulu (munition), Telefoni (telephone) and Makoni (telegraph), just as famous composers were obliged to stand sponsor for the song-loving Tongans; for example, Haniteli (Handel), Mosa'ati (Mozart), Uebi (Weber), Paka (Bach), Haitini (Haydn) and Losini (Lortzing). However, the old Tongan names are not forgotten. They are used together with the new European names or by themselves (that is, usually double). The influx of European names seems to be stronger in the case of the male sex rather than the female sex. (263)

263. According to a count taken by the author on a number of islands, the ratio of European names to old Tongan names among the male sex is approximately 1:1.5 and among the female sex approximately 1:3.

In contrast to the newly introduced names which, as in Europe, are used only for the female or the male sex respectively, the same ancient Tongan names are given for both sexes, as in former times.
551 Many a father will lovingly choose for his newborn child an attractive
553 and significant name, as for example: Niu Tupu 'i Vaha (freely

/256 cont./ The natives sang
533 chiefly to accompany dances (683)
534
461

683. For example, J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 329-337.

(at which rhythm-stampers, percussion sticks and slit-drums /?/ provided the rhythm) and also to encourage people at certain work (for (hiva), (685)

685. Ibid. p. 333; W. Ellis, An authentic narrative... /cited in English/ I. p. 106.

by individuals or small groups (sometimes accompanied by a nose flute). (686)

686. For example, J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 334.

533 The beauty and the assets of the islands and the sea were the subject of such songs, but events of the past were also celebrated in song.

533 /257/ Today there are no longer any purely Tongan songs,
177 except for an old taua'alo melody. (687)
[461]

687. taua'alo are the typical ancient Tongan work songs, sung especially in paddling; perhaps the lomepeau song sometimes still sung to the laka-laka dance is also of Tongan origin.

One hears songs of European (English) origin or purely European (English) songs. Most of the secular songs today sung by individual natives or by small groups are written and composed by Tongans on
533 various English models. Most of these songs contain landscape descriptions, though many--in contrast to the past--are pure love songs. Other themes, as for example historical events, are rare. The natives
[574] sing at social gatherings, for example in the kava circles, (688)
[535]

688 See p. 147-149.

to accompany dances and sometimes also by themselves if they happen to feel like it.

[796] But most of all and most heartily the Tongans (689)
[194]

689. Their singing voices (especially those of

/257 cont./

533 796 [194] the women and girls) still have a nasal sound.

today sing at services in their churches. The Free Wesleyan Church 795 796 533 177 of Tonga prefers purely European (English) melodies which have been borrowed from hymns as well as secular songs. In the Free Church of Tonga, which is more conservative and apparently also does not have the personnel to teach congregations the European song literature, one still hears predominantly European-influenced ancient Tongan melodies.

533 794 177 The choirs of the various Wesleyan churches cultivate singing to an especially great extent. They meet several evenings a week and, by a system of numbered notes written on blackboards, which was introduced in Tonga, they practice with great patience and notable musical talent the songs composed by their choir masters or adapted from European printed notes; these songs they sing with an enthusiasm intensified by their Christian faith. In this way even works of European masters (as for example, the Hallelujah chorus of Handel's "Messiah") have been introduced in Tonga.

533 The influence of sacred songs is today so great that even on sea journeys between the islands the natives sing chiefly these songs and rarely secular ones.

Thus Tongan song has changed essentially in comparison with the [177] past. Yet the joy of singing is probably at least as great today as it was in ancient Tonga, since the new European /258/ melodies and particularly the singing furthered by religious motives have brought great stimulation.

534 In pre-European Tonga there were relatively few, simple musical instruments. At dances the natives liked to use "rhythm-stampers," that is, bamboo tubes of various lengths closed at the lower end, the proportions of which determined the pitch of the tone. (690)